# PROPERTY OF PRINCETON UNIVE

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

JUNE 18, 1945

### Veto Power Settled By United Nations

Russia Yields on Right of Discussion of International Disputes by Council

CONFERENCE SUCCESS IS ASSURED

arter Drafting Nears Completion. Struggle for Ratification by Governments to Begin

To the relief of the entire world, the one big issue which had deadlocked e San Francisco conference for days as been resolved. That was the socalled "veto issue" upon which the unty of the Big Five was split wide open many days. The United States. Great Britain, China, and France took e position on the issue, the Soviet Union another. For days, both sides eld firm. It appeared that neither ould budge. It appeared that the nference might break up over this Finally, the Russians issue. ielded and the way was cleared for inding up the conference and procing for signatures of the 50 nans represented at San Francico a arter for the new world organization be known as "The United Nations."

#### Early End Seen

With this thorny issue thus satisctorily settled, the conference was expected to finish its difficult labors Doubts as to whether the edily. athering would succeed were removed d the first great stage in the process setting up machinery for the preseration of peace was nearing comple-The next step-that of securing ntification of the charter by the govments of the participating coun--was about to begin. In our own untry that step would consist of enting the charter of the United lations organization to our Senate, ere it will have to secure the affirmdive vote of two-thirds of the memrs present.

The compromise agreed upon at San ancisco upon the veto issue climaxed long battle which has been fought what was probably the most difcult feature of the world security That struggle involved the votprocedure that was to be followed the Security Council of the proposed ganization. When the original draft a security league was drawn up at nbarton Oaks last summer, no solun of the problem could be found. section of the charter was left ink, to be filled in later.

It was not until the Yalta meeting President Roosevelt, Prime Minis-Churchill, and Marshal Stalin in uary that a formula for voting ald be agreed upon. It was that mula and the various conflicting inretations of it which caused the us deadlock at San Francisco.

The voting procedure as outlined d agreed upon at Yalta was indeed (Concluded on page 6)



#### War's Aftermath

By Walter E. Myer

We are all acquainted with many of the inevitable consequences of war, the physical destruction, the loss of life, the bodily injuries, the shortages of food, the disorganization of economic society. With other consequences, particularly the psychological, we are less familiar. These psychological factors, however, exert a potent influence upon personal attitudes and social policies. They should be brought out into the open, recognized and studied, in order that they may be

Pitirim A. Sorokin, in his book, Man and Society in Calamity, emphasizes the universal tendency of war to breed fear and suspicion. Danger is actually present in war. In the paths of armies and planes, there is acute danger to life. In the more fortunate communities which are beyond the range of guns or bombs or invading forces, there is fear of what may happen to loved ones in the danger zones. There is danger of hunger, danger to standards of living, to social and-political institutions. The emotion of fear tends to stifle other feelings and to predominate in the lives of people everywhere.

When the war is over, people do not quickly alter the nature of their emotions. Fear persists after the fighting ceases, fear for the national life, for institutions, for economic standards. Along with fear there is suspicion and hate. Fearful populations suspect not only their late enemies, but all with whom they come Everything they do, they do in a spirit of suspicion. They are in no frame of mind for rational conduct, for patience and understanding.

We have all hoped that a "new and better world" would arise from the ashes of war. But it will not come automatically. As a matter of fact, strong forces work inevitably in the other direction. We are not so well prepared to work for progress and peaceful relations during and after a war as during a period of peace. Illustrations of this fact are to be found in the suspicions which today are hindering cooperation among the Alkes. On every hand we see an intensification of nationalism, of national fears, of race hatreds. Witness the unreasoning suspicions that tend to set Russia and the western Allies against each other, that tend to foster bad feeling between Jews and Gentiles, whites and Negroes.

When we understand this weakness which war has imposed upon us, we can be on guard against it; against the emotions which are so likely to warp our thinking. That is what we must do if we are to travel the paths of peace and progress. We must throw off the psychological shackles which tend to embitter our relations with our neighbors and to deprive us of the fruits of victory.

### Peacetime Military Training Is Debated

**Majority of Americans Now Favor** Conscription in Contrast to Historic Attitude

CONGRESS CONSIDERS LEGISLATION

Questions of Military Necessity, Foreign Reaction, and Domestic Results Weighed

During the last two weeks much new fuel has been fed to the hot debate on the question of whether America should adopt a policy of compulsory postwar military training. A special House Committee on Postwar Military Policy, headed by Representative Woodrum of Virginia, has been hearing testimony on the general subject, and has become a sounding board for a wide variety of individuals and groups who are interested in this important matter.

The Woodrum Committee is designed solely for the purpose of gathering information and will not formulate legislation. However, it will report its findings to the House Military Affairs Committee, which does consider legislative proposals. In fact, there is at the present time before the Military Affairs Committee of each house a bill calling for universal military training for American youth.

#### **Bills Before Congress**

Sponsored by Representative May of Kentucky and Senator Gurney of South Dakota, this bill provides that between the ages of 18 and 22 every American male who is able-bodied should undergo a year of military training (not service). A number of other bills of similar nature have been introduced at various times since Pearl Harbor, but none of them has received any action. It is expected, however, that on the basis of the Woodrum Committee hearings Congress will soon begin serious consideration of the May-Gurney bill or of new proposals which are being made.

It is inevitable that the fighting of a war should force consideration of the idea of training a large reserve force for use in possible future conflicts. Public opinion polls now indicate that for the first time such an idea is favored by a majority of Americans; after the last war it was proposed and vigorously debated, only to be turned down by the Senate.

During most of our history conscription has been opposed by most Americans, even in wartime. It was extremely difficult to maintain an army during the Revolutionary War; during the Civil War a brief attempt at a draft was abandoned because it was so violently resisted. Even after we became involved in World War I large numbers of Americans held that we should fight the war by voluntary enlistment, and so harsh was the de-

(Concluded on page 3)

## **Germany Enters Period of Occupation**

GERMANY is now entering the period of occupation. Guided by the agreements reached in Berlin by Generals Eisenhower and de Tassigny, Field Marshal Montgomery and Marshal Zhukov, the Big Four are preparing to exact from Germany the requirements resulting from her unconditional surrender last month.

The Berlin agreements of the Big Four military chiefs dealt a severe blow to the last hope the Germans had for winning a victory of a kind in this war. Some time before the complete collapse of Germany, it became apparent to even the most fanatical Nazis that Hitler's Third Reich could not win the war on the battlefield. They realized that the resources of the United Nations were too vast and overwhelming. But they clung to the hope that they could win a long-range decision; that after the fighting ended there might be a chance for them to score a victory which would make the Allied military triumph a hollow and meaningless one.

The Nazis' plan for victory after surrender was to create a serious rift between the eastern and western Allies which would result in a breakdown of the unity which marked the military endeavors of the United Nations. To that end, the propaganda machinery of the Third Reich worked feverishly in attempts to breed distrust and suspicion among the Allies, especially among the Big Three. It was hoped that the results of this work would carry over into the occupation period in order to impair the peacetime endeavors of the United Nations, particularly with respect to Germany.

Now the Nazis' last hope has been dashed. The framework within which the Big Four will work in controlling Germany has been announced. The preliminary policies for the occupation as agreed to by Russia, France, Great Britain, and the United States are evidence that the four major Allies intend to cooperate throughout the turbulent period which lies ahead for Europe. The Berlin agreements show that the Big Four are ready to assume jointly the responsibility for maintaining order in Germany, administering the nation, and eliciting compliance with the requirements of the surrender.

While the Berlin agreements make it clear that Allied occupation will be complete and harsh, they announce that the United Nations have no intention of annexing Germany. They state categorically Germany's responsibility for the war and her complete defeat in battle, and in 15 articles, which may be the law of the land for some time to come, they outline the surrender

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PRESS ASSOCIATION, INC.

Regions of Germany to be occupied by Russia (shaded area), the United States, Great Britain, and France

requirements which the Germans must fulfill during the occupation period.

For governing purposes, Germany has been reduced by the Berlin agreements to her 1937 borders, and will be divided into four zones. The eastern zone will be occupied and governed by Russia; the southwestern zone by the United States; the northwestern zone by Great Britain; and the western zone by France. The military chief in charge of each zone will have supreme authority of administration and government except on matters which have been decided by the Control Council. He may post military forces where he deems it necessary. He may establish the civilian agencies which he sees fit. The military forces at his disposal are those so designated by his government. But he may supplement them with military forces of any other United Nation which has actively participated in the war against Germany.

The commanders-in-chief of the four zones are to be Generals Eisenhower and de Tassigny, Marshals Montgomery and Zhukov. Together they will constitute the Control Council. With advice from their respective governments and with the help of one political adviser each, they will decide questions which affect Germany as a whole. The decisions of the Control Council will be unanimous in order to insure uniform action by the commanders in their separate zones of occupation. The Control Council will not fix the future boundaries of Germany. This

will be left to later action by the Big Four governments.

Working under the Control Council will be a permanent coordinating committee composed of a representative of each of the commanders-in-chief. In addition, there will be a control staff organized for the present in the following twelve divisions: military, naval, air, transport, political, economic, finance, legal, prisoners of war and displaced persons; reparations, deliveries, and restitution; internal affairs and communications; and manpower. These divisions may be changed in the future, as need and experience require.

Every division of the control staff will have four heads, one designated by each of the commanders-in-chief. Working with each of the several divisions will be a staff which may be composed of civilian as well as military personnel. In special cases, citizens of other United Nations may be included in the make-up of these staffs.

The coordinating committee and control staff will serve to advise the Control Council. They will also receive the decisions of the Council and transmit them to the proper German organs. It will be an additional duty of the coordinating committee and the control staff to supervise the day-by-day activities and workings of German agencies.

The city of Berlin will have a separate administration. An inter-Allied authority, operating under the direction of the Control Council, will govern the German capital.

Provision has been made for other Allied nations to be in close touch with the occupation forces of the Big Four. Liaison may be established between other United Nations and the Big Four through military missions.

In a long declaration, aimed at the complete disarmament of Germany, the Berlin agreements of the Big Four enumerated the surrender requirements with which the German people must comply. First of all, it calls for an immediate cessation of hostilities by all German land, sea, and air military forces in all theaters of war. German military personnel are ordered to remain where they are to await instructions from Allied commanders. All Germans are sternly warned not to damage in any way military equipment and installations which they must hand over to the Allies. They are likewise told to hold intact transportation equipment and facilities, all factories, shops, research laboratories, patents, plans, all technical data, and the entire communications system of the nation.

The Big Four state that the Germans must release immediately their prisoners of war, and prepare a list of United Nations nationals whom they have held as prisoners. The Berlin agreements also provide that Nazis who have been classified as war criminals and those who are suspected as having committed such crimes will be ferreted out of their hiding places and surrendered to the proper Allied authority. The German population will be expected to comply with instructions from the Control Council for the apprehension and surrender of war criminals. The Germans are also told in firm language that, should they fail to fulfill the requirements of surrender as drawn up in Berlin, appropriate action will be taken against them.

The Berlin agreements, of course, are only the foundation on which the Big Four, acting on behalf of the United Nations, will build their system of control for Germany. Some important questions, such as the exact boundaries of the occupation zones, were not answered by them. Other problems may arise later, necessitating additions or amendments to the Berlin documents. However, the area of agreement reached in Berlin by the Big Four is large enough to make it possible for the control of Germany to be begun.

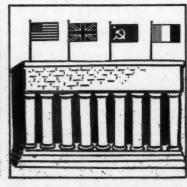
It is to be expected that problems will arise about which there will be a difference of opinion among the Big Four. The unique occupation of Germany is being called "the great experiment of the century." It will test the ability of the Allies to cooperate in peace as they have done in war.



Occupation terms for Germany includ demilitarization and disarmament;



Occupation by the Big Four in specified separate zones as agreed upon;



A four-power control commission, with headquarters in Berlin, to rule country:



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Is military training necessary and desirable in peaceting

## Peacetime Conscription?

bate in Congress that for a time there was real doubt whether a wartime draft act could be passed. This point of view is not surprising in view of the large number of persons who have emigrated to America from Europe expressly to get away from conscrip-

In foreign countries the story has not been the same. Compulsory military training and service in time of peace has long prevailed in every country on the continent of Europe, and before the present war it was found in Japan, China, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Liberia, Siam, Afghanistan, and all but four of the Latin American na-The trend will probably be even more marked after the war; Russia is already conscripting all its 15and 16-year-olds for peacetime train-

In general the present proposals for peacetime conscription in this country are supported by the Army, the Navy, veterans' organizations, and the United States Chamber of Commerce. Opposition comes from most church groups, educators, and some branches of organized labor. Here are the chief arguments made by each side:

Those who favor universal military training contend that the question should be considered and acted on now while interest in national defense is at a high point. From the military standpoint they support their views with these major contentions: (1) preparedness is the best assurance of ace, since other countries are less likely to attack us or engage in aggression if they know we are fully prepared to fight, and (2) the blitzkrieg nature of modern war makes it unlikely that in case of future aggreson we shall have any breathing spell which to get ready to fight.

Testifying before the Woodrum Committee, Undersecretary of State Grew gave strong backing to peaceme conscription. Speaking from 40 years of experience in the foreign service, he said:

"I believe a year's military training is necessary, because of our oblisations under the World Security Orcanization; because, in the world of things as they are, our international policy, to be effective, must have strength behind it: and because my

experience has taught me that aggressors are not deterred by latent superior strength, but shrewdly try to obtain their ends by attacking when they consider their potential opponents unprepared, and, therefore, at a disadvantage. . . .

"If during those years before Pearl Harbor our people had been able to see the handwriting on the wall, if we had been even reasonably prepared at that time, I don't believe for a moment that Japan would have attacked

Expressing the same feelings before the committee, Major George Fielding Eliot, well-known military commentator, said, "If we want our influence to be felt we have got to have the force to back it up." He pointed out that the Russians are going ahead with plans to make their country secure until a new world organization has demonstrated that it can work. "The Russians are a practical people; they We will not gain respect strength. the confidence of the Russians by going back to sleep," he added.

In addition to these military arguments for peacetime conscription it is also contended that there are valuable by-products of military training. It is said that such training would improve the national health by building better hygiene and diet habits, toughening the bodies of American youth. and curing or remedying numerous cases of minor physical defects. It is also argued that the discipline of Army life provides a stabilizing influence for young men and makes them more self-reliant. And the comradeship and teamwork of Army life are said to mold character favorably and build democracy.

Thus Bernard de Voto, nationally

known historian and literary critic, wrote in Harper's recently:

"We must not forget that the Army is a democratizing force. In the entire range of American life there is nothing else that takes all classes and conditions of men, mixes them up, forces them to understand one another, and requires them to live together tolerantly and work coopera-

Opponents of conscription, on the other hand, oppose hasty action at this Dr. William J. Miller, presi-



ould our young men be allowed to engage in their normal purs

dent of the University of Detroit, told the Woodrum Committee that it would "unwise and unfair to pass such drastic legislation while we are in the grip of war hysteria and before our service men return."

Those who take this side of the argument also contend that conscription will not accomplish the aims its advocates claim for it. Hanson Baldwin, the well-known military affairs expert, makes this point in a recent Harper's article (although he does not come out strongly either for or against the main proposition): "Conscription has never stopped war and never made war less frequent. We have only to recall the examples of France, Italy, Russia, China, and the many other countries that-despite conscriptionhave been embroiled in war."

Not only do those on this side of the fence believe that conscription will not guarantee the peace, but they are convinced that it will actually act as a detriment to peaceful international relations. Dr. Miller, in his testimony, said, "Suspicion, distrust, and fear among our Allies and other nations' would be created by postwar training which "would diminish the possibility of creating a lasting peace and developing adequate international cooperation, since it would stimulate a universal armaments race.'

Foes of a peacetime draft particularly fear the effect of such legislation on Russia, the only world power besides Britain which might oppose us. Since Britain has been traditionally friendly to us, and since we have no enemies near our borders, it is argued that Russia will view American conscription as aimed at her.

Some point was given to this argu ment when Representative Leo E. Allen of Illinois, a member of the Woodrum Committee, told reporters recently that he had in the past opposed conscription but now he was for such a program because it was "perfectly clear that the State Department and the Army and Navy regard it as absolutely necessary to protect ourselves against Russia."

Opponents of conscription believe that it is fraught with dangers rather than benefits to American social, political, and economic life. They view the Army as a poor substitute for the home, the school, and the church in the several tasks of building healthy bodies, thoroughly trained minds, and sound moral characters. They agree with Hanson Baldwin when he says, 'Military training requires full-time effort . . . there is no time in one year of service to educate and to train. Conscription must do one or the other; it cannot do both."

And they concur with Dr. Leonard W. Mayo who wrote recently in the New York Times: "It is naive to assume that compulsory military training can be expected to build or 'stabilize' character. The main purpose of military training, as such, is to teach men to fight and kill."

It is contended that the Army accepts for training only men who are already in good physical condition; that the rigid discipline of the Army breeds resentment for law and authority and discourages independence of thought and action; that democratic living is best promoted by self-disciplined independence rather than subservience to unbending authority; that a large military training program builds up in peacetime a powerful professional officer caste, which (like the general staff in Germany since Bismarck's time) would strongly influence and even dominate civilian government.

It would be better, say the advocates of our traditional military policy, to spend money for better schools, community centers, laboratories, and public health services.

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# The Story of the Week



Under the direction of the Russian armies, Gerion nan civilians are cleaning the streets

#### Japan's Peril

Recent shakeups in the military and political hierarchy which governs Japan, followed by Premier Suzuki's request for unlimited authority over the nation, bear witness to the fact that our Far Eastern enemy is now preparing for a final, desperate struggle, comparable to that of Nazi Germany after our invasion of France.

This is the strategic situation in which Japan finds herself. At home, her cities are at the mercy of air attacks whose scope and violence is constantly growing. On the Asiatic mainland, Chinese forces, aided by American troops and supplies, are pushing her out of her coastal holdings and narrowing the corridor which connects her with the rich conquered territories to the south. And, in the East Indies, new invasions are threatening other key sources of raw materials.

Okinawa, the Ryukyu island for which Japanese and American troops have battled for almost three months, bears a critical relation to Japan's prospects on two of these fronts. Now that our forces have virtually completed their conquest of the island, new bases will be available for our bombers. And Okinawa, relatively close to both the China coast and Japan, is strategically located as a springboard for possible invasions. Its importance is reflected not only in the Japanese government's admission that the battle to hold it is the decisive one of the war but also in the fact that 200,000 men have been used in the fight for it-120,000 American troops and 80,000

On her third front-in the Netherlands East Indies-Japan is threatened by Allied advances in northern Borneo. Borneo, prized chiefly for its wealth of petroleum, is also valuable as an additional steppingstone to the Malay States and Japan's other holdings in southeast Asia.

#### **Government Officials' Salaries**

While an undecided fate awaits the bill to provide a \$2,500 tax-exempt expense account for House and Senate members, attention is being given anew to the salaries of government President Truman has announced his support of increasing congressional salaries from the present

\$10,000 to as much as \$25,000. Various civic-minded groups have in the past advocated a higher scale of pay for the nation's legislators, but congressmen have been loathe to take action on these suggestions.

Now with presidential backing, a bill has been drawn up which would double present salaries of representatives and senators. It also provides a pay boost for the Vice President, the Speaker of the House, and cabinet officers. Varying opinions were voiced by congressmen after the bill was written. Some thought that the bill should be passed now, but that it should not take effect until 1947. By that time a new House of Representatives will have been elected, as well as one-third of the Senate. Also, the war in the Pacific is likely to be finished by then. Others say that such a raise in pay should not be considered now because its enactment would be a violation of the Little Steel formula for wartime pay increases. Some members think that a raise should be voted now, but one within wartime restrictions on salary increases.

Support is shaping up throughout the nation for a pay increase not only for members of Congress, but also for the President, federal judges, diplomats, and top administrative officials in the national government. It has

been suggested that Congress set up a committee to study salary scales for government officials and to make recommendations which can be enacted as soon as wartime controls can safely be lifted.

#### **Veterans Administrator**

General Omar Bradley, newly appointed Administrator of Veterans Affairs, faces on the domestic front a job which rivals for complexity the recent job he carried out so well as commander of the Twelfth Army Group in Europe. Considered one of America's ablest and best-liked military leaders, he is expected to streamline and improve the management of the Veterans Administration which has recently been under fire for alleged inefficiency and maladministration.

The Veterans Administration is in full charge of all matters pertaining to pensions, insurance, hospitals, vocational rehabilitation, and education for veterans. At the present time it is helping a million and a half veterans of this war to readjust themselves to civilian life. Ultimately it will be responsible for the welfare of perhaps 15,000,000 veterans, more than a tenth of the population. It will require 100,000 people to carry on its work; it will spend billions of dollars; it will finance education of as many as a million veterans within five years after the end of the war. Already it is operating the greatest insurance business in the world.

Recent criticism of the Veterans Administration is based largely on two charges: (1) the agency devotes too much of its energy to deciding about pensions, bonuses, and disability pay instead of working for the ultimate recovery of the disabled veteran, and it takes too long to adjudicate claims; and (2) the medical and hospital program is hopelessly inadequate and oldfashioned. These charges have resulted in a congressional investigation of the treatment of veterans in hos-

#### It Might Have Been

NEW VETERANS' HEAD. President Truman congratulates General Omar N. Bradle (center) who was nominated by the President as head of the Veterans' Administration as General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, looks on.

Just six months ago today the German counteroffensive against our First Army in the Ardennes Forest reached its crest-and almost reached victory. Now that the inside stories of the war are being told, we learn just how close

Von Runstedt's troops almost seized 15,000,000 gallons of American gaso line stored near Malmédy. The last American reserves-cooks, engineers, and clerks-were poured into the fight and barely held the attack until reinforcements came up. With this gasoline the German armored divisions would have broken through our lines. perhaps swept on to the sea to play havoc with our invasion. No one knows how long the war might have been prolonged.

"The key-word in all this, of course. is 'almost,' " says the New York Times editorially. "What could have happened didn't quite happen. . . . History will sift hundreds of these might-



"Rising in fury"

have-beens. What would have happened if Hitler had invaded England immediately after Dunkerque, or if he had never attacked Russia; if the Luftwaffe had beaten the RAF in that first, fierce assault; if Rommel had taken Cairo: if Moscow or Stalingrad had fallen; if German rocket bombs had wiped out London? The future of the world hung on such narrow escapes from disaster.

"But we are still fighting another war. We still face hazards that have not been decided. No doubt tragic events could take place off the shores of Japan which would set us back for months. No doubt there have been narrow escapes still to be told. Let us learn from the war in Europe, with all the terrifying might-have-beens we encountered there, not to assume victory in the Pacific until our flag flies over Tokvo.

Recent congressional action on two bills dealing with America's role in world economic affairs varied so widely as to make it difficult to assay the true drafted at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, last summer. On the other, the

joys the distinction of being the first legislative body in the world to approve the Bretton Woods agreement. It even went so far as to leave un-

temper of Congress on the matter. On the one hand the House of Representatives approved by an overwhelming vote of 345 to 18 the twin proposals Senate Finance Committee approved the request for a three-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, but rejected the Administration's request for increased authority to cut

The House of Representatives enchanged the wording of the agreement.

America's Economic Role

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The plan calls for an International Bank, which will make long-term loans to enable war-devastated countries to get back on their feet economically and re-enter world trade, and an International Monetary Fund, which will help prevent inflation and unsettled trade conditions by supporting the value of the currencies of various nations and maintaining their worth in relation to each other.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was first passed in 1934 and has been extended three times since then. It permits reductions up to 50 per cent in the tariff rates set up by the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930, in return for similar concessions from other nations. The Administration maintains that it has used up its authority with respect to many nations, and no longer has any bargaining power to make new contracts. Therefore it wants power to reduce existing rates 50 per cent in return for foreign concessions.

The House has already granted this request, but the Senate Finance Committee turned it down. Critics claim that it would open the doors to cheap foreign products and undercut American labor. Proponents of the plan argue that it would stimulate trade. noting that our exports to countries with which we have agreements increased twice as much as our sales to non-agreement countries. As this paper goes to press the Senate proper has not yet made its decision on this

#### OWI Cut

As we go to press, the Senate is debating whether to vote the Office of War Information the funds it has asked for next year or to follow the House lead and slash its appropriation to one-third of the current operating allowance. If the Senate does cut the OWI appropriation, it will mean a drastic curtailment of the agency's overseas information work. Its domestic branch, which distributes information to American newspapers and periodicals, was reduced in size two years ago when Congress voted a previous appropriations cut.

There are two motives behind the drive to cut OWI funds. One is a desire for economy, coupled with the belief that, the major part of the war being finished, OWI has done its job and is no longer necessary. The other is a desire to bar government from the



POSSIBLE INVASION PORT. This is a view of the Chinese city of Foochow, which lies just opposite Formosa and almost direct west of Okinawa. Now in Chinese hands, it may become an Allies invasion port.

business of news distribution on the ground that its "propaganda" activities menace freedom of the press and pave the way for the establishment of totalitarianism.

The OWI answer to these charges is that government information activities abroad have done-and can still doan important service in furthering the position of the United States in world affairs. Government information officials also believe that the OWI program can be instrumental in promoting ideals of peace and democracy

#### Interim Aviation Pact

Thirty nations have accepted the Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation which was drafted last year in Chicago, and therefore set into operation a temporary organization of nations on aviation. The Chicago agreement provided that, with the support of 26 nations, the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization would be brought into being.

This organization will be located in Montreal, and meetings are to be held there shortly. It is made up of an assembly in which each of the signatory nations is represented. There will also be a council of 20 members, elected to serve two years. The organization will have only advisory and technical duties, with no authority

governing the economic phases of air transport.

The life of this provisional group is limited by the agreement to three years. During that time, a permanent organization is expected to be established. The permanent organization on civil aviation was also planned at Chicago, and its establishment is awaiting the ratification by 26 nations of the Convention on Civil Aviation.

The nations which are participating in the provisional group by virtue of signing the interim agreement are Afganistan, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Haiti, Iceland, India, Iraq, Ireland, Lebanon Liberia Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, Poland, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States

#### Absenteeism in Congress

Absenteeism is a problem that is not confined to industry-it has recently become a major headache for Congress. So many members are absent that important business is delayad and the Democratic leaders, who theoretically command a majority vote, are often hard put to muster enough strength to carry out the party legislative program.

This is well illustrated by the recent action of the House in slashing the appropriations for the Office of War Information. Of the total membership of 433 members (there are at present two vacancies) only 266 voted. and the Republican victory was made possible because a great share of the absentees were Democrats.

A careful check taken in both houses earlier this month revealed that almost half of Congress was away from Washington although no recess had been called and important business was under consideration. Of the 49 Senate members who were absent, five were ill, 12 were in Euprope, two were attending the San Francisco Conference, 21 were on public or official business, four were "necessarily absent," four were away by leave of the Senate, and one was absent without explanation.

In the House much of the trouble is due to the large delegations from the populous eastern states, for many of these members leave Washington on Thursday and do not return until the following Tuesday. Members from distant states complain that this

greatly slows up business and compells Congress to stay in session longer than necessary.

There is a law still on the books which says that a congressman shall lose pay for each day of absence except for illness. However, the law has long been a dead letter, and congressional leaders are casting about for some other solution to the problem.

#### **NEWS QUIZ**

1. Explain the different positions of Russia, on the one hand, and the other four members of the Big Five, on the

Russia, on the one hand, and the other four members of the Big Five, on the other, on the veto power.

2. How is the veto power to be exercised by the permanent members of the Security Council?

3. What are the principal objections raised against the veto power as agreed upon by the Big Five?

4. According to Secretary Stettinius, what two principles are being observed in the Security council voting procedure?

5. Why will it be necessary for the Big Five to remain united if the peace machinery established at San Francisco is to be successful?

6. What are the principal provisions of the May-Gurney bill?

7. True or false: The American people have consistently opposed compulsory military training in time of peace.

8. What are the principal arguments against peacetime conscription? The principal arguments in favor of it?

9. Explain the main outlines of the conditions of occupation which are being imposed upon Germany.

10. Who are the four members of the Allied Control Council?

11. To what position has General Bradley been appointed?

12. What steps have been taken recently toward increasing the salaries of

gentina is not recommended and some second of the second o

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"A Soldier's Slant on Compulsory Mili-tary Training," by E. J. Kahn, Jr., War-rant Officer. Saturday Evening Post, May 19, 1945.

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SURRENDER DOCUMENTS. The original German surrender documents signed at lunesberg, Reims, and Berlin have been placed on public exhibition at the National Archives in Washington. Photo shows Maj. Gen. Anthony C. McAuliffe, hero of the lattle for Bastogne, opening the exhibit on D-Day anniversary. Left to right: Dr. Solon J. Buck, archivist of the United States; Maj. Gen. McAuliffe, and Senator Edwin C. Johnson of the Senaté Military Affairs Committee.

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BIG FIVE AGREE ON VETO POWER. After a deadlock which threatened the success of the San Francisco Conference, agreement has been reached on the veto issue. Left to right are the heads of the five delegations: Joseph Paul-Boncour (France); Lord Halifax (United Kingdom); Edward R. Stettinius (United States); A. A. Gromyko (Soviet Union); V. K. Wellington Koo (China).

## Big Five Settle Ticklish Veto Issue

(Concluded from page 1)

complicated and subject to different interpretations. It has been widely debated throughout the world since it was first made public in March and has been sharply criticized in many quarters, especially by the smaller nations, In effect, the formula as agreed upon at Yalta placed in the hands of each of the Big Five nations a veto power over the enforcement of peace.

The Security Council, it will be remembered, is given the major responsibility for enforcing peace in the future. It is to be composed of 11 members, of which five (the United States, Great Britain, Russia, China, and France) are to have permanent seats. The other six members are to be selected, for two-year terms, by the Assembly, which is to be made up of all the members of the United Nations.

The voting procedure mapped out at Yalta, which formed the basis of controversy at San Francisco, drew a distinction between different types of issues to be acted upon by the 11nation Security Council. On ordinary matters not involving disputes between nations and the enforcement of peace, decisions are to be reached by the vote of seven of the 11 members. The decisions on these matters were to be valid even if one or more of the permanent members of the Council voted against them. In these ordinary decisions, the veto power of each of the Big Five powers was not to come into

On issues involving the settlement of disputes between nations, however, the Big Five were to be given greater power. For example, the Council is given the power to investigate disputes, to make recommendations for settlement, and to take military action against any nation which threatens the peace of the world. But in order

to investigate any dispute, seven of the members, including the permanent members, must vote in favor of taking up the dispute. If one of the permanent members should vote against investigating a dispute, the Council could be prevented from considering it or from making recommendations for peaceful settlement.

The only limitation upon this use of the veto power is in the case of a dispute in which one of the permanent members itself is involved. In such a case, the permanent member is to abstain from voting on the question of whether the Security Council shall investigate the dispute and make recommendations for settlement.

In decisions involving the use of force against any nation, however, each of the Big Five is given an absolute veto. In other words, military power cannot be called into use against any nation, large or small, member of the security organization or not, unless all five of the permanent members of the Security Council vote in favor of such action.

As can be seen by the foregoing explanation of the voting procedure adopted at Yalta, the Council is authorized to take several steps in the process of attempting to settle a dispute between two nations. These steps include the presentation and discussion of a dispute, investigation of its causes in order to determine which nation is the offender, recommendations as to the method of settlement, and, finally, decision as to what action the Council itself shall take, including the use of force against a nation which threatened the peace.

In each of the steps, the power of veto enters to a certain extent into the activities of the Council. In the final step-action-the veto power of each of the Big Five is absolute, and the Council cannot, under any circumstances, use force against any nation unless all five of the permanent members vote in favor of such action.

The dispute between the Russians, on the one hand, and the Big Four, on the other, developed over the use of the veto power at other levels. The Russians insisted that any one of the Big Five should have the power to determine whether or not any dispute could be presented to the Council and considered by it. In other words, the Soviet government argued that the settlement of disputes by the Council was a "chain of events," going from 'discussion" to "investigation" to "action," and that the veto power should come into play in the initial link of the chain; that is, at the "discussion"

The other four members of the Big Five took a different position on the issue. They argued forcefully that while any one of the permanent members should have the power to veto a decision to use military force against any nation, and even to veto the investigation of all disputes except those in which one of the Big Five itself was involved, the right of a discussion should be determined by a seven-tofour vote of the entire Council.

On this important, though technical, point the Russians have now yielded and the most serious deadlock of the San Francisco conference has been broken. It is admitted that this decision of the Soviet government has strengthened the Security Council, for it insures to every nation, large or small, the right to present its case when it feels it is being threatened by another nation.

The Big Five agreement on the veto power clearly recognizes two principles which Mr. Stettinius has outlined as follows:

"The agreement reached preserves the principle of the unanimity of the permanent members of the Council in all actions taken by the Council, while at the same time assuring freedom of hearing and discussion in the Council before action is taken. We believe both are essential to the success of the world organization.

"Under the terms of the agreement, unanimity of the permanent members of the Council is required as provided by the Crimea agreement in all decisions relating to enforcement action and-except as to parties to disputes-in all decisions for peaceful settlement. But this requirement of unanimity does not apply to the right of any nation to bring a dispute before the Council . . . and no individual member of the Council can alone prevent a consideration and discussion by the Council of a dispute."

While agreement upon the veto issue practically assures the complete success of the San Francisco conference, there are many who remain dissatisfied with the general outlines of the charter. They contend that even the elaborate machinery which is to be set up will be ineffectual in preserving peace unless all the Big Five remain united in their will to prevent war.

This criticism is largely valid, for it must be admitted that the United Nations organization, as it will emerge from San Francisco, will be unable to take action against any one of the Big Five if it should embark upon a program of aggression. The peace structure will depend upon the good faith of the Big Five and of the determination of all the nations which stood together to win the war to continue their cooperation to preserve peace.

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## Internal Conflict in Argentina

AMERICA'S wartime policy toward Argentina has pursued two ends bringing Argentine foreign policy into line with United Nations aims and making the country which is, in many ways, the most important in South America a truly democratic member of the Inter-American system. Argentina's declaration of war against the Axis on March 27, her signature of the Act of Chapultepec on April 4, and her subsequent moves to curtail memy activity within her borders indicate that we have been at least partially successful in the former effort. But a long series of reports on the dictatorial nature of the Farrell government, culminating in New York Times correspondent Arnaldo Cortesi's recent revelation that it now rules by terror alone, show that we have been completely unsuccessful in the latter.

Indeed, reliable reports of the current scene in Argentina point to the conclusion that we have won only surface concessions from the Farrell government and that even these have een obtained at the expense of democracy. Farrell and his supporters, bargaining on the basis of cold-blooded expediency, have bought United Nations recognition and all the political

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and economic benefits it implies at the price of token cooperation in the hemisphere war effort. And they have seized upon our reluctance to use force either military or economic-against them as an opportunity to strengthen their totalitarian power at home.

Present-day life in Argentina, as described by American correspondents, Argentine exiles, and underground workers within the country, follows fascist pattern. Against the wishes of an estimated 90 per cent of the people, the government maintains its power by denying all freedom of speech, the press, and organization and by hounding all who oppose it through a Gestapo-like secret police.

Much of this has been hidden by nsorship until now. More has been disguised by official gestures promising democratization. As part of its campaign to appear respectable in the eyes of the legitimate democracies, the Farrell government is nominally preparing for an election. As another part, it has revoked orders suspending number of prominent newspapers.

But there are loopholes in each of ese gestures. The government recently promulgated a new law governing political parties. This law, restricting campaign expenditures and mescribing rules for party organizaon, merely paves the way for com-Nete government control of any election which may be held. And, al-

though President Farrell and Vice-President Peron have both denied that they will run for office, the country is currently flooded with buttons, pins, and neckties advertising the candidacy

The new edict lifting restrictions on the press is equally suspect. Its provision that papers closed down for "dissemination of social theories adverse to the Argentine Constitution" may not resume publication leaves the way clear for continued suppression of any paper which does not follow the official government line.

Most important of all, secret police persecution of those who are not in sympathy with the government goes on at an ever-increasing rate. Like their Nazi counterparts, Argentina's present leaders are seeking to prevent the rise of opposition by systematically weeding out all potential leaders. Journalists, political leaders, trade union heads, teachers, and Army officers of democratic bent are their par-

The leading executor of the government terror is the Special Section set up by General Uriburu in 1930 to rid Argentina of Communists. After General Uriburu's dictatorship lost power, the Special Section fell into disuse. But when Farrell and Peron came to power in 1943, it was revived and, at the suggestion of Gestapo representatives in Buenos Aires, modernized.

Today it is a full-fledged terrorist organization, specializing in torture, concentration camp management, and spying. Its devices for forcing information from its victims are reputedly as ingenious as those used by the Ges-The concentration camps it maintains on the lonely pampas and in the bleak wastes of Patagonia rival those our armies have uncovered in Germany. And its system of spying on citizen activities is said to reach into every department of social life.

The Army, which put Farrell's regime in power and is still its chief support, has also become an agency for the suppression of democratic lib-Correspondent Cortesi reports that he has seen whole sections of Buenos Aires occupied by the Army in full war kit. He has also seen Army machine guns used to break up peaceable citizen demonstrations.

Since the government's control of all legal channels of opposition is virtually complete, many of those who favor democratic government in Argentina have gone underground. Today the country has as large and com-





plex a resistance movement as any

European nation under the Nazis. Part of it operates in Argentina. The rest functions in exile, principally from headquarters in Uruguay.

The leading underground organization, Patria Libre, includes Argentines of all political persuasions. From its headquarters in Montevideo, it directs the activities of a network of resistance groups embracing all of Argentina. It maintains a "centro civico" in nearly every factory in the country and has a nucleus of devoted workers in most other social, political, and economic organizations. Each of its chapters operates autonomously within its own territory, sabotaging, helping those who have been caught by the Special Section, and preparing for the day when the government can be overthrown.

The exiled Socialist Party has a membership of 10,000 in Uruguay. Led by Dr. Nicolas Repetto, it too directs resistance work within Argentina. Numerous groups, ranging from conservative to extreme radical, are united under Mando Unico, an organization of civilians and Army officers who are working to overthrow the present government. General Arturo Rawson, who was president of Argentina for a brief period, is one of the leaders of this group.

There are also important youth groups involved in resistance to the Farrell government. There is the largely Communist Union Juvenil Argentina, the all-party Asociacion de Mayo, and numerous Socialist groups.

Another important underground organization is the League for the Rights of Man. This non-political, humanitarian agency specializes in aiding concentration camp prisoners, smuggling food and medical supplies to them and helping them to escape to

A highly significant part of the work of Argentina's underground groups is done through illegal newspapers. Each of the leading resistance organizations has its own organ.

Like Europe's underground press, these illegal Argentine newspapers encourage resistance to the government. bring uncensored news to the people, and attempt to promote the revolutionary cause. They also share with Europe's underground press the distinction of being one of the government's chief targets. Much of the

work of the Special Section is directed at capturing those who print and distribute illegal newspapers.

While the Argentine government's corner on arms and its efficiency in the use of terror are largely responsible for the fact that Farrell and his henchmen have been able to stay in power in the face of such determined opposition, it is clear that no government can hold its people by terror alone. The present regime has been able to maintain its control for the additional reasons that it has cleverly exploited the international situation and that it has played on the narrower interests of particular groups in the population.

The Argentine people were relatively prosperous through the 1930's and for this reason they had no deep desire to become involved in war. Even today, they are among the bestfed people in the world, and stand to gain little in a material sense from active participation in the war. Farrell and Peron, by demonstrating that they could avoid outright conflict with the United States and the other Allies without contributing heavily to the United Nations effort, have won a certain measure of support from the

They have also shown promise of making Argentina a South American leader at the expense of the United States. Argentine pressure has helped a dictatorial, anti-United States government to power in at least one other Latin American country. Argentine militarization, which has been forwarded under Farrell, has intimidated many of the other Latin American nations into supporting Argentina in world councils.

But this does not alter the fact that the Farrell government is basically as unpopular as it is reactionary. In the words of a writer for the Inter-Ameri-can magazine, "The Buenos Aires Government is at war with its own people. The declaration of war against Japan and Germany was a mere formality for which Argentina's military fuehrers were promised rich material and political rewards from the United States. Their real war is against the people, who are sick of brutality and graft, sick of oppressive laws, and of having to look over their shoulders before muttering anything which might be taken as a criticism of the government."

## onors

WAR, next to the loss of freedom, is the ultimate calamity which can befall a nation."

These were the words of Dwight David Eisenhower in 1938, the man who was to become known as "America's greatest soldier since Robert E. War was soon to make him Lee." Supreme Commander of eight armies, three air forces, and close to five million men. His life, after he entered the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1911, had been devoted to the study of war and to preparing other men to engage in it.

Today General Eisenhower comes home to be acclaimed as the man who contributed more than any other single soldier to the overthrow of the Wehr macht and to the maintenance of Allied solidarity in war. Three years have passed since he was named commanding general of the European theatre for the United States Army. During those years he has carried a weight of responsibility which probably affected more lives than have ever before been touched by any one man. He made decisions which changed the course of history. But to all outward appearhe returns the same modest, amiable, hard-working Ike who had gone away to do his share in helping the Allied Nations prevent that one calamity worse than war-the loss of freedom

The first two years of Dwight Eisenhower's life was spent in Denison, Texas, where he was born on October 14, 1890. His parents, who already had two sons, were openly disappointed because Dwight was not a girl. His mother, a member of a "plain" religious sect similar to the Quakers, considered war the ultimate wickedness. In 1898, the year of the Spanish-American War, the Eisenhower boys shouldered wooden muskets and skirmished over the vacant lots of Abilene, Kansas, but they paid for it through thrashings administered by their pacifist mother. In later years, however, she accepted Ike's entrance at West Point cheerfully, and never tried to discourage him in his chosen career.

During his years at Abilene High School, Ike worked nights and summers at the Belle Springs Creamery, where his father was engineer. By his senior year he had become one of his school's best athletes, a star on the football team, and was doing well in his studies. History was the subject he liked best and the one in which he really shone. When he was graduated in June, 1909, the class prophet foresaw that "Ike will wind up as a professor of history at Yale.'

For a year Ike could not make up his mind what to do next. He worked at the creamery, worried about his future, and read books, particularly military history, from the library of his friend, J. W. Howe, the editor of a local newspaper. He thought of going to South America as an engineer, but finally followed the example of one of his closest friends and tried for an appointment to enter Annapolis. He took West Point as second choice when he discovered he was too old to enter the Naval Academy.

Eisenhower's years at West Point were remarkable chiefly for the number of demerits he piled up for being late to breakfast formation. His academic record was not brilliant, except in English, but he managed to stay in the upper half of his class. His conduct rating was 125 in a class of 168, his academic standing, 61, when he was graduated in June 1915. He had been unable to play much football because of a severe knee injury, which was a great disappointment to him. He had made friends, among them Omar Bradley of Missouri and P. A. Hodgson of Kansas. The latter became his roommate and spent four years worrying for fear Ike would get into trouble and be dismissed because of his casual attitude toward rules and regulations.

Upon graduation, Eisenhower was commissioned a second lieutenant in the 19th Infantry. He was ordered to Fort Sam Houston, in San Antonio, Texas. There he met and, with cuspered Kansan agreed perfectly with the fiery Patton that the American Army needed to learn much more about tank combat.

For the next 15 years Eisenhower laid the groundwork of thorough training and experience which gave him a sure hand and the confidence to make plans and carry them out when the nation needed him. Although he moved about-from Panama, to Colorado, to Georgia, to Washington, D. C .- he was selected for more special training than is the average young officer in peace-He was graduated from the Infantry Tank School, attended the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, was graduated

and decided to learn about plane first hand. At the age of 48 he secured his pilot's license and had accumulated 300 hours of flying time before his return to the United States.

In the Philippines Eisenhower had become aware of the real mena Japanese militarism. He had aided in drawing up plans for the defense of the islands in case of attack, and knew just how inadequate our supplies as reinforcements there were. When he tried to tell his friends in this cou try that the Japs had been preparing for 20 years to fight the United States he was called "Alarmist Ike."

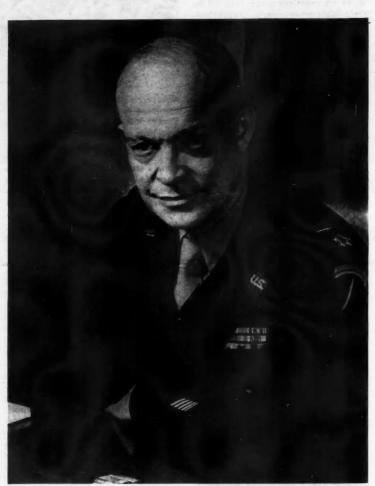
After a number of assignments i the West, Eisenhower took part in the Louisiana maneuvers in the fall of 1941. Fellow officers prophesied that he would be promoted to a major general because of the ability he displayed as chief of staff of the Blue Army. They were right, and at the same time Eisenhower became chief of the new Operations Section of the General Staff. Assisting Brigadier General L. T. Gerow, an old friend who had become Chief of War Plans, Eisenhower had a hand in mobilizing what forces we had in the early days of the present war and in making the plans which were one day to lead us to victory in Europe.

By May of 1942, Ike had been selected by General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, to visit England for staff conferences and a tour of inspection. Actually, Eisenhower was being inspected himself. The British took to the big. straightforward American at once, and not long after his return to Washington, he was informed that he was to carry out the plans for offensive action overseas which he had been perfecting for months. Within a year he had risen by merit alone from the rank of colonel to become a three-star general.

During the following years Eisenower acted in accordance with his July Fourth report to Americans: There is no time for messages until we can say them with bombs and In spite of the weight of his duties at headquarters, he tried to make at least one visit to every echelon under his command. His greatest disappointment has been the fact that it was impossible for him to accompany the men who carried out the plans h made for the invasion of North Africa and the great amphibious operations which followed.

Eisenhower's insistence upon unity has played a large part in his success ful handling of both men and operations. Not only did he create an atmo phere in which Americans, British, and French could work together with the least possible friction, but he was able to unify the operations of ground and air forces, always as cooperating units, without considering one more important than the other. His knowledge of the use of armored forces, his understanding of the importance of strategic bombing, and his ability to see each problem as a part of the greater one-total defeat of Germany combined to fit him for his job as Supreme Commander.

Eisenhower's tendency is to give h generals credit for victories while taking the responsibility for defeats upon himself. He listens to suggestions but once a plan is decided upon, his determination in carrying it out cannot b shaken.



General Dwight David Eisenhower

tomary dispatch, married within a year Marie Geneva Doud, of Denver. Ry May 1917 he had been promoted to captain, but his teaching ability kept him at training posts too long. After months of trying to get overseas orders. Ike finally succeeded. Early in November he raced home to show his wife the sheet of paper on which she read, "You will proceed to Camp Dix for embarkation on November 18, 1918

Ike had been working with the technical troops of the Tank Corps during the war and soon afterward he was ordered to Fort Meade, Maryland, where British, German, and French tanks had been assembled for study and experiment. There he developed a lasting friendship with Lieutenant Colonel George S. Patton, whom Eisenhower admired as a profound student of military history and an experienced fighting man. With strikingly different personalities, the two men worked well together, and the quiet even-temfrom the Army War College in Washington, D. C., and, while serving as assistant executive in the office of the Assistant Secretary of War, was graduated from the Army Industrial Col-

In October 1935, after a two-year tour of duty in the office of the Chief of Staff in Washington, Ike sailed for Manila, as assistant military adviser to the Philippine Islands. There he aided Douglas MacArthur, then Commander in Chief of the Philippine Army, in his struggle to get the new Philippine Assembly to pass a national defense act, authorizing a citizen army.

Eisenhower's ability to inspire the men with whom he worked made him a real asset to MacArthur, who needed just such a man for his chief of staff. Ike's talent for diplomacy, based on his honesty and his real liking for people as well as his organizing ability, came evident during the years in the Philippines. Here, too, he became convinced of the importance of aviation

